

# Winning the War on Terror

## Introduction

Winning the war against our terrorist enemies is the central challenge of our times. The United States has faced other great challenges in our modern history. What we now call our “greatest generation” confronted and defeated fascism in Europe and Asia. A sustained campaign against communism over a fifty year period won the Cold War. Today we face a new type of evil. At the moment, the public face of our enemy is Osama bin Laden and the global al-Qaeda network. But over the long term, we are at war with a brand of radical Islamic fundamentalism that is extremely dangerous, is growing, and is a true threat to our people, our economy, and our way of life.

Let us be clear – this is a war for nothing less than our survival. Al-Qaeda and likeminded groups across the globe are limited only by the weapons they are able to obtain. There is no doubt that if they acquire chemical, biological, radiological, or even nuclear weapons, they will one day try to use them. And if they succeed, many, many lives will be lost and our world will be forever changed.

Our goal must be to win this war; to defeat the enemy. We should not be satisfied with merely reducing the risk of attack. We should not accept that this war will go on forever. Just as we no longer train schoolchildren to run into underground shelters for fear of a Soviet nuclear attack, we should aspire to a future where we no longer live with the uncertainty of catastrophic terror at our doorstep.

## *A Strategy to Win the War*

To prevail in the war on terror our strategy must be bold – we must be willing to exercise every aspect of national power to achieve our goals. Our strategy must be comprehensive – it must deal with every aspect of the challenges we face. And our strategy must be geared not only toward short term gains, but to building and sustaining a global campaign against the evil we face so that one day we can say – “the war on terror is over and we have won.”

To win the war on terror, we must carry out three missions: we must aggressively attack the terrorists and the infrastructure that supports them; we must protect the homeland; and we must prevent the rise of future terrorists.

It is essential that we carry out all three missions at the same time. Identifying and locating our terrorist enemies through the global collection and sharing of intelligence, taking the battle to the terrorists, wherever they may be, and cutting off terrorists’ sources of financing is the right strategy and it must be pursued with vigor. But attacking the terrorists cannot be an exclusive strategy.

As we seek to destroy our terrorist enemies, the American people rightly demand that the government provide a greater level of protection from terrorist attacks than it did on September 11. Our homeland security must be comprehensive, effective, and proportionate to the threats we face. As the citizens of Bali, Istanbul, Riyadh, and Madrid have sadly learned, even when the terrorists are on the run, they can still kill. We must take whatever steps possible to stop them.

But even attacking and protecting against terrorists is not enough. To win the war on terror we must prevail in the battle of ideas. Ironically, it is on this battleground that the terrorists are at their weakest, but it is also where we are losing ground the most quickly. To win the war on terror, we need to take aggressive action to prevent the rise of future terrorists. We must do this through exercising non-military aspects of American power: public diplomacy, economic development, trade, educational exchanges, stability operations, and democracy promotion. These parts of our arsenal are not as awesome as our weapons of war, but over the long run they are necessary to win over the hearts and minds of the populations that, right now, are fertile recruiting grounds for our enemies.

If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that today we are far from winning the war on terror. Our attacks against the terrorist groups have been only a partial success. While many al-Qaeda leaders have been captured or killed, this has not diminished the lethality of the now semi-autonomous terrorist cells dispersed across the globe, as the deadly Madrid rail attacks demonstrated. One day, bin Laden and his chief lieutenants will be eliminated. That will be a great day for justice, but it will probably not have a practical effect on the long-term war against terror. For the war on terror is not about one man, or even one organization. To win the war on terror, we need an aggressive, robust set of military, diplomatic, and protective policies designed to suppress the growth and power of radical Islamic fundamentalism across the globe. Today, we are not executing such a strategy.

### ***Attacking the Terrorists***

Attacking the terrorists requires us to reform the intelligence agencies that failed to detect and prevent September 11, restructure parts of our Armed Forces so they are better suited to finding and capturing or killing terrorists, strengthen clandestine activities at the Central Intelligence Agency, transform the Federal Bureau of Investigation into an effective counterterrorism force, and develop strong domestic and international programs and policies to cut off terrorists' financing.

Remarkably, two and a half years after September 11, the intelligence bureaucracy that failed so miserably that day is relatively unchanged. Few of the bipartisan recommendations issued by the congressional intelligence committees following their joint inquiry into September 11 have been acted upon. To remedy these problems, we must create a "Director for National Intelligence" to coordinate the disparate agencies of the Intelligence Community, one who does not also serve as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. We should also make the long term investments necessary to develop better human sources of intelligence on terrorist networks and to increase the language skills of agency personnel.

We are lacking an information sharing system suitable for fighting the war on terror. Such a system must be so technically advanced that once a person has been identified as a terrorist suspect that information is made available, in real time, to all our intelligence analysts, law enforcement,

border security officials, and consular officers. The Terrorist Screening Center that is finally being developed after two years of delay is not much more than a call-in center. While a step in the right direction, it is not the advanced capability we need.

Likewise, despite the best intentions of some Pentagon reformers, our military has not yet been transformed to adapt to the new security environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. To do so, we need to double the Special Forces to 100,000 troops over the next decade, obtain weapons and technologies that are lighter, quicker, and stealthier in order to better track down and attack terrorist cells, and utilize covert strikes executed with speed and precision that are less likely than traditional military operations to provoke resentment against the United States and contribute to the recruitment of future terrorists. To promote partnerships that will make our offensive strategy more effective, we should develop both NATO Special Forces units and Joint Commando Forces with Arab and Muslim nations. Joint, internationally sanctioned forces are necessary to provide consensus for rapid engagement of the enemy around the world.

With respect to terrorist financing, the immediate reaction to September 11 was swift and strong. But far more must be done to reinvigorate this effort and dig deeper into the network of cover organizations and financiers around the globe that continue to provide financial support for al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations. We need a national and international plan to crack down on *hawala* brokers who use informal transaction systems to circumvent anti-terrorism and money laundering rules.

To attack effectively a global network of terrorists through intelligence gathering, military operations, and financial regulation, we must have international partners. No foreign nation or international organization will ever have a veto over American security. But when we take military action, as part of the war on terror or in furtherance of other objectives, we must strive to do so in a way that promotes our long term interest in defeating the terrorists, and that means acting in a way that strengthens our partnerships with other countries.

In the aftermath of September 11, conditions were ripe for the creation of a global, long-term coalition against the terrorists; a coalition that would include not only our traditional allies, but critical countries in Asia and the Middle East where intelligence gathering and operational activities could make a real difference. But in the two and a half years since September 11, the goodwill of the world toward the United States has been diminished. In Afghanistan, we ignored the unprecedented NATO invocation of Article 5 of its charter stating that an attack against one member is an attack against the Alliance itself, in favor of a go-at-it-alone approach. And in Iraq, we insisted on invading at a time, place, and manner of our own choosing. Having exhibited disregard toward the international community, we now bear the principal burden in Iraq, attempting to quell an insurgency, reconstruct an economy, and develop viable political institutions.

While the absence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq has undermined the key and most compelling justification for the invasion of Iraq, let there be no doubt that failure to complete the task of stabilizing post-invasion Iraq will increase the threat of international terrorism. The full support of the world community is necessary to achieve peace and democracy in Iraq. Our success in achieving that support will determine whether we can build a foundation for success in the broader war on terror.

## *Protecting the Homeland*

Protecting the homeland is an essential part of a strategy to win the war on terror. Despite the glaring vulnerabilities that were exposed by the September 11 attacks, and despite the action of the President and Congress to create the Department of Homeland Security and take other actions in response to those attacks, America is not as safe as it needs to be in light of the terrorist threats we currently face.

The Administration's approach to homeland security has been strong on rhetoric and weak on action. America continues to face security gaps across the board. We are not prepared to deal with a major bioterror attack in the United States. Our aviation system is still not as secure as it needs to be and our commercial aircraft are highly vulnerable to attack from shoulder fired missiles. Our borders are still porous. We barely scrutinize the 20 million cargo containers that enter the United States each year, even though they could carry nuclear or radiological materials into the heart of America. Chemical manufacturing facilities have little meaningful security to prevent a release that could kill millions. Little has been done to provide greater security on our rail and transit systems, which are prime terrorist targets. Infrastructures upon which we depend (energy facilities, telecommunications, and financial networks) are vulnerable to both physical and cyber attacks. Law enforcement is still not receiving sufficient intelligence information to prevent terrorist attacks. First responders in our communities still do not have the equipment and training they need to properly protect us. And we do not have a government-wide information technology architecture to facilitate real-time collection and dissemination of terrorist threat information.

One of the greatest threats we face comes from unsecured stockpiles of materials that could be used to create weapons of mass destruction. These materials are spread across the globe. Little is being done to prevent terrorists from getting their hands on them. A decade ago, Senators Nunn and Lugar had the foresight to draw the government's attention to this massive threat to our national security. Yet, the difficult job of securing these stockpiles has not been given the priority that current threats demand. To address this threat, America should lead a global alliance to secure all nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons materials in the former Soviet Union and beyond to prevent the catastrophic event that could occur if al-Qaeda operatives or their compatriots obtain access to them.

We also need a robust, aggressive strategy to close the security gaps we face at home. Our best scientists must be dedicated to developing vaccines and medicines to counteract a bioterror attack. We need new technologies and research methods to reduce from years to weeks the time it takes to develop drugs to treat new or bioengineered pathogens. And we need detailed, well rehearsed plans for distributing vaccines in the event of an attack. Radiation portals should be positioned at every port of entry, right away, so no cargo container enters the United States without being screened for nuclear or radiological materials. All cargo that is shipped on passenger airlines should also be screened. Airlines must be equipped with anti-missile technology as soon as reasonable systems are available. Forces on our borders should be doubled and all our borders should be monitored 24/7. The Coast Guard needs modernized equipment this decade, not over 20 years from now as currently proposed. First responders must have modern communications equipment so they can talk to each other during emergencies. Our subways, commuter rails, and other transportation facilities need security cameras, communications equipment, chemical and biological sensors, and better emergency response plans. The thousands of chemical plants that threaten the safety of surrounding

communities must undergo risk assessments and security improvements must be mandated. First responders across America need to have the equipment and training they need to respond to likely terrorist incidents in their communities.

The Administration has initiated partial or weak programs in many of these areas. But the terrorists will not wait for the implementation of a five-year, phased-in, gradual homeland security effort. Our enemies are plotting attacks against America now. We need to move much faster and much more aggressively in light of the imminent threats we face. The cost of these investments in security is small in comparison to the human and financial cost of failure.

### ***Preventing the Rise of Future Terrorists***

To defeat the terrorist organizations that threaten us, we must take bold steps to reverse the current dynamic where more terrorists are recruited every day than are detained or killed through our other efforts. Our troops can prevail on the battlefield, our intelligence agencies can identify terrorist cells, and our defensive measures can foil plots, but the long term key to our national security is isolating the radical Islamic extremists by presenting a competing and more powerful and positive vision of the future of the Middle East and the Muslim world. It must be a vision built in partnership with the people of the Middle East and supported by a global coalition with American leadership at the helm.

The population of the Arab world is now at 280 million, approximately equal to that of the United States. Over half of the entire Arab world is under 24 years of age. While a whole generation forms its worldview, opinion of the United States across the Muslim world is at an all-time low. A study by former Ambassador Edward Djerejian concluded that “hostility toward the United States has reached shocking levels.” The Pew Research Center recently issued a survey showing that Osama bin Laden is supported by 65 percent of Pakistanis and 55 percent of Jordanians. Shockingly, even in Turkey, a NATO ally and recent victim of terrorist violence, 31 percent say that “suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable.”

One critical factor in world opinion about the United States is that large majorities in Muslim nations believe that we act internationally without taking into account the interests of other nations. According to the Pew Center, 79 percent of Turks and 77 percent of Jordanians believe that the United States “pays little or no attention to their country’s interests in making foreign policy decisions.”

If we are to win the war on terror in our lifetimes, this perception of the United States has to change. To win the war, we must convince the world, especially Arabs and Muslims, that our fight is their fight too.

The problem is, we are not doing this now. As the world’s sole superpower, we must be cognizant of the resentment our status engenders. Phrases like “shock and awe,” and “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” contribute to this resentment and work counter to our

interests. A foreign policy based on these terms will not bring us much success in the effort to halt the rise of future terrorists.

While we are encouraging other nations to take strong action against terrorist organizations, at the same time we also need to be taking proactive efforts to demonstrate to people across the globe that we are a force for positive change in their lives. We need to show them that we care about the same things they care about – better jobs, better schools for their children, better health care, and better roads, housing, and water. Freedom to pursue a better life is the most universal of human values and spreading this freedom is in our nation's long term security interest.

To change the tide in our long term war against terror, the United States, together with our allies should make a dramatic and massive commitment, on the scale of the Marshall Plan, to the future of Arab and Muslim children and to the economic prosperity of all people in the Middle East. The original Marshall Plan led to the longest period of peace and prosperity in European history and the creation of a united Europe, whole and free. Americans were never again sent to die on the battlefields of Europe, but instead have expanded the community of free nations and strengthened our own security.

The challenges we face today require a vision just as grand. We should lead a global effort that will help revolutionize educational opportunities and economic development in the Arab and Muslim world. To get children out of *madrassas* that preach hate and venom against the West and modern values, we should create a global alliance to build high quality schools in Arab countries that agree to double their own investment in public education. We should create a "Renaissance Partnership" to create free-market economies in the Middle East. Under this plan, countries that accept open trade standards, agree to form a Middle East Common Market, and develop transparent financial institutions would qualify for billions in assistance to create technology infrastructure, small businesses, and other entrepreneurial enterprises. And we should triple support for the National Endowment for Democracy to support moderate voices throughout the Islamic world such as independent media, small business federations, democratic political movements, and civic organizations.

These initiatives should be big, so people can feel their impact and understand that the United States cares about improving their lives. And while expensive, these programs are small investments compared to the cost of military actions and their aftermath, or further terrorist attacks on our homeland.

No matter how bold these initiatives are, they must be accompanied by success in our mission to stabilize and reconstruct Iraq. The stakes could not be higher. The Arab world was hostile to the Administration's argument for war even when it relied on claims that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction and harbored terrorists. Now that those claims have been undermined, the credibility and standing of the United States in the Middle East is on the line as never before. Failure is not an option. Iraq must be stabilized. Its economy must be restored. Political institutions must be developed. And the Iraqi people must be provided hope for a better future. If this political and economic development does not occur, then the perception within the Muslim world will be that the United States pursued an illegitimate war of aggression against an Arab country and left it in a worse condition than it was found. Not only would Iraq become a haven for the enemy terrorists, an ironic

and tragic result, but the war will continue to be a rallying cry and recruitment tool for the radical fundamentalist movement that we are trying to defeat. If we succeed, Iraq can be the beginning of an effort to reshape the Middle East in line with our long-term strategic interests.

Prior to its invasion, Iraq was not a battleground in the war on terror. It is now. We must succeed.

### ***Leading the Country and the World in the War on Terror***

Implementing an effective strategy to win the war on terror will require strong and visionary leadership. We must take decisive, forceful actions, but must do so in a way that sustains the partnerships with other countries that are necessary for success. And we must have the courage to advocate for domestic and international financial support to the very parts of the world from which our deepest enemies have arisen.

It takes strong leadership to build international support for our actions rather than “going at it alone.” It takes strong leadership to convince other countries to work with us in combating the terrorists rather than labeling them as either with us or against us. It takes strong leadership to tell the American people that we are not as safe as we need to be.

Finally, it takes strong leadership to ask Americans to make sacrifices for their country. This is the first war in our history in which our soldiers are fighting, but those at home are not being asked to make sacrifices in their own lives. During World War II, every American was called upon to sacrifice: from the troops who served, to the housewives who rationed, to the citizens whose taxes were raised to pay for the war. Today, our young people should be encouraged to give a year of their lives to public service, either in the Armed Forces, National Guard, AmeriCorps, or the Peace Corps. Our leaders should also be telling the American people, candidly and frankly, that winning the war on terror will cost a great deal of money, and that all Americans are going to have to make sacrifices to achieve victory. Right now, we are failing to make the investments needed to win this war and its costs are being passed on to future generations.

To win the war on terror, we need bold, principled, and enlightened leadership to execute a well conceived and comprehensive strategy. Our great nation has always risen to the challenges that history has presented, and we will do so once again.

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